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under the higher "ownership" of the emperor.[42] The chiefs of the Monguors and Shato in Kansu must have been feudatories of this kind under the Mongol dynasty.

Among nomads living in an extensive territory the territorial rights of the nomad lord over his vassals were not exercised in the same way as among farming and sedentary peoples. They took primarily the form of the power of the chief to order and regulate the movements of herds and herders according to grazing needs at different seasons, to summon men for military service, and to requisition labor for other services.

For the Monguors and Shat'o, living in the relatively small territories assigned to them by the emperor, the problem was not one of wide grazing movement but of concentration for frontier defense. The chiefs were "owners" of the territory, and of the subjects whose military services they commanded, but within the limited territory each clan member was free to settle and cultivate at his own choice, and to treat all uncultivated land as "common pasture" for grazing.

The strongly "individual" character of the right of property in the Monguor society predominates over the social, civil, and political aspects of property, and deserves attention because it is a fundamental principle still fully understood, recognized, and applied by relatively primitive peoples, but often disregarded by sociologists.

T'U-SSU LORD OF THE COMMONERS

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The distinctive mark of a commoner is to be bound to his T'u-ssu. As already explained above, commoners were subjects granted to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war.[43] Since his subjects were his only source for the recruiting of troops, the military importance of a T'u-ssu corresponded to the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of the slave, the *nullum caput habens* of the Roman law,[44] the basic distinction between nobles and common-

[42] Compare Lord Bryce's comment, *Holy Roman Empire*, 122–124, 229, New York, Macmillan, 1904, that in feudal Europe "real sovereignty" resided in the fief.—O. L.

[43] An element of agreement or bargaining may also be noted. When the "founding ancestor" submitted to the Ming dynasty, he was already (*a*) the leader of a group of his noble kinsmen and (*b*) in control of a number of commoners, perhaps originally the conquered subjects of his ancestors, perhaps "granted" to his ancestors by the preceding Mongol dynasty. His "bargain" with the Ming was that, without fighting, he offered them his allegiance as the man who was able to bring this military manpower into their service. The part played by the Ming was to accept the "bargain" by confirming and sustaining the T'u-ssu in his primacy among his kinsmen and his lordship over the commoners.—O. L.

[44] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80. In the old Mongol society the vassals were not slaves. They were allowed to possess their own property, to raise their own cattle. They enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. The suzerain did not absorb all the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, they were bound to serve him in time of peace and to fight for him in time of war; to accompany his clan when they migrated to new pastures, and always

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ers still existed in 1911–1922, even though the chasm which in former times separated nobles from commoners had almost been bridged in ordinary social life. The commoners were still, however, not allowed to abandon their chiefs. The moment they became able to exercise that freedom, the clans were bound to fall asunder, the troops to disappear, and the T'u-ssu institution to wither away.

The first duty of a subject was never to abandon his lord.[45] The subjects and their descendants were chained with fetters which never could be removed. They could not even of their own decision leave their lord in order to pass into the service of another lord. Under pre-Monguor customary law the death penalty was stipulated for attempting to do so.[46] This conviction of being chained was deeply rooted in the social consciousness of the Monguors and was considered by them to be natural. It was enforced by the right of the T'u-ssu to request from the Chinese officials the extradition of any of his subjects who fled and hid among the Chinese.

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After the great rebellion of the Muslims (1868–1872), however, the military power of the Monguors gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time wielded any considerable influence. The Chinese officials, receiving fewer presents from the impoverished T'u-ssu, were not as willing as before to uphold their rights and privileges. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Chinese were following their traditional policy of unifying the administration by gradually abolishing the privileges of tribes that had become innocuous, perhaps there were secret orders from Peking to neglect the T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu institution had in fact become obsolete and the imperial authorities must have been aware that this kind of defense of the frontiers was now useless.[47] In any event, less support was henceforth

to live together with his clan; to help in the pastoral economy and in hunting. It was impossible for them to unbind the fetters which chained them to the suzerain, and so their descendants continued to be the vassals of his clan.

[45] There was a distinction in this respect between nobles and commoners. As shown by the recorded instances, notably in the Li clan (see above, p. 40), a kinsman of the T'u-ssu could, in certain circumstances, split away from the T'u-ssu and, by the decree of the overlord state, take some of the commoners, be allocated a territory, be created himself a T'u-ssu, and become the founder of a new line of nobles ruling over subject commoners. From this aspect the position of a T'u-ssu relative to his noble kinsmen may be described as *primus inter pares* and relative to his commoners as *princeps omnium*.—O. L.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 153.

[47] The T'u-ssu and the whole antiquated Manchu imperial system were unable to deal with the Muslim insurrection, which was eventually put down by the "new style" Chinese (not Manchu) generals in command of Chinese (not Manchu) troops, with Western arms. One consequence was that it became evident that such frontier feudatories as the Monguors were no longer either useful or dangerous. Even if there were secret orders from Peking to neglect them, therefore, there was no need for such orders. Another consequence was that the "new style" Chinese generals began to become superior in prestige to the Manchu imperial state, and became, in fact, the "founding ancestors" of

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565 178 558 621 Conversely, the nobles were weakened by the fact that their unearned revenue decreased generation by generation, through inheritance and subdivision, so that more and more, if a noble family were locally wealthy and respected, it was not because of its share of taxes but because this particular family was able to produce and conserve wealth in the same manner as the leading commoner families. The ties of such a family with the rest of the nobility were weakened, and its ties with the local village community and its interests were strengthened.

NOBLES AND COMMONERS

565 178 We may summarize this aspect of the social history of the Monguors by saying that when they first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, the social distance between commoners and nobles must have been very great. With settled life and the increasing domination of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their own ability to manage their own farms, and local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability and not primarily by class. Nobles could, in the conventional form of sale, "pass" their fields to commoners, and commoners to nobles. They bought cattle and grain from each other and sold them to each other. Nobles and commoners, if they had the money, joined together to invest in trade. Apart from the important discrimination in favor of nobles in immunity from taxes and corvées, and immunity from being flogged in court, the principal surviving distinctions of the aristocracy are such things as their higher rank at important ceremonies, social precedence at dinners, marriages, funerals, and festivities (even though the noble were a poor man), the custom of calling the nobles "ta jen" (great man), and finally the old custom that when a commoner meets a noble on the road, he must dismount, remove his hat, and unroll his pigtail.

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In my own experience, I know of a case of an old man named Chao, of Peiyahua, who, refusing to dismount in this manner, was brought before the T'u-ssu, made to apologize, and required to make an offering of a sheep with red paper pasted on its horns and a piece of red cotton cloth bound on its back, and to present incense and oil to the ancestral temple. It is to the disadvantage, not the advantage, of the nobles as a class that many of them show an overbearing pride. Such men are most conspicuous when, though known to be addicted to opium and gambling, they try to uphold their traditional "rights" by demanding deference from commoners.

THE CLAN ASSEMBLY

175 In the year 1913 the Monguors were entering on a period of trouble and decline. The T'u-ssu institution was threatened. Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Republic in 1911 there had been rumors that the Chinese officials would abolish the institution. The dowager who

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618 is strictly kept, the prestige and authority of the lord are
624 inevitably increased.

In small clans, when the T'u-ssu is a haughty and supercilious man, or an opium addict and gambler exacting in his demands for corvées and greedy for the money of his subjects, he is easily criticized and despised because the distance between him and his subjects is reduced, and the commoners get into open arguments with him, and rebel and accuse him in the Chinese court. In the lack of distance between the T'u-ssu and subjects and the waning authority of the T'u-ssu lies the secret of the fact that it is in the small clans that commoners most easily leave their chiefs, giving the Chinese officials the opportunity to reduce both commoners and T'u-ssu to the rank of Chinese subjects and to confiscate their territory. It is no wonder that the clans which have disappeared are the small clans.

IV. THE VILLAGE

FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE

● 621 The Monguor village consists (1911–1922) of a
361 group of families living in a well defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the chief of the village. Since the villagers all till the soil and keep cattle, the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures.

Most farmers, however, live in small hamlets. The patrilineal family system seems to favor this kind of grouping. When the paternal inheritance is divided, the sons build small houses near the old one, bring new lands under cultivation, and small groups of related families, living close together, spring up all over the territory.

Wealthy Monguors hire poor people to cultivate their fields and herd their cattle, and build small houses for them near their own. Wealthy Monguors also give in to the desires of their wives and daughters-in-law and allow poor relatives to build small houses near their own. They lend them [illegible] to plow their fields, and as they prosper the group increases and the hamlet grows into a village.

361 A third factor promoting the grouping of families
621 was, in the past, the chronic insecurity of the country,
721 ravaged by recurring inroads of Tibetans and Mongols. According to tradition the Monguors, when they first came into this territory, still lived in tents. At that time it was easy to pick up the tent and move out of the path of invasion; but once they began to live in houses, the houses had to be defended. Wealthy people in the outlying territory built a high thick mud wall around their houses. To these enclosures the poor families fled in time of trouble, helping in the defense of the small community. Wealthy people, therefore, liked to see the hamlet increased by the addition of poor families, who provided more manpower for defense. All over the country numerous ruins of strongholds are the enduring witnesses of the bad old times. [p. 73-b]

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361 621 721 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 701 361 621 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the [311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

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342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, 354 sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along 353 251 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables. 342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of 184 house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

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other's houses. Their children play together. In winter the women of noble and commoner families sit in each other's houses sewing clothes. In times of sickness or childbirth, the women of both classes help each other: they cradle and caress each other's children. When trouble breaks out between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, all the neighboring women of both upper and lower classes come around to help patch up the quarrel. Rich and poor know each other's most intimate affairs and talk about them. They know all about each other's wealth or poverty, for the saying goes that the neighbor is the balance which weighs the neighbor's silver. The daily food of rich and poor is just about the same.

The intimacy in the daily family life which derived from the time when nobles and commoners migrated in small nomadic groups with their herds, pitching their tents one next the other, became more and more conventional when they settled down in small villages, and made it possible to bridge the chasm separating upper and lower classes in the official administrative hierarchy; but long before commoners were allowed to participate in the administration, the way had been prepared by the close familiarity in all the small hamlets between women of the two groups in the orbit of the family.

In such problems the overwhelming influence of the women and children is often overlooked. The first step in the leveling of social conditions between nobles and commoners was not set by any order of the T'u-ssu, but by the women and children in their daily familiar life.

The distance between rich and poor families in such a society as that of the Monguors is not so marked as in our society. The sons of the rich work in the fields just like the sons of the poor. They work side by side with the hired men. In the same way the daughters-in-law and daughters of the rich do all the household chores, and go to the fields to do the weeding and to bring in the harvest, as do the wives and daughters of the poor. Only on holidays are they better dressed and decked out with nicer jewelry.

Rich nobles and rich commoners alike hire four or five extra men to till their fields. They keep flocks of one hundred or two hundred sheep, herds of forty or fifty cows, and feed ten or more donkeys, two or three teams of mules, and one hundred or more horses, of which a couple are fast and handsome.

The man of ordinary standing hires one or two men, has fifty or one hundred sheep, ten or twenty cows, some donkeys, and a couple of mules and always has a fast, fine horse. Poor families working for the rich people earn some money and some grain and from some of the fields that they cultivate for the rich keep the harvests for themselves. With the herds of their employer they put a few sheep and a couple of cows or donkeys of their own. Sometimes they have a couple of days off to till their own small fields with the draft animals of their employer. They are dealt with in the

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same way as members of the family; and the relations between employer and hired men are familiar and cordial.

In short there are among the nobles honorable families living in affluence, and among the commoners there are the same kind of fine families. There are among both nobles and commoners less honorable families and even dishonorable ones, addicted to opium, gambling, and the whole train of attendant vices that go with these depravities. Since most families are absorbed with the struggle for life, however, they have little time left to indulge in extravagant vices. Although the villages are not beds of roses, the sociability of life among the Monguors is an attractive feature of their society.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIALS

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The highest official in the village is the village chief or headman. Next come the two military commanders, called Ch'ien-tsong and Pa-tsong,[2] and finally the elders. The chief of the village is responsible to the T'u-ssu for his villagers. His powers are granted to him by the T'u-ssu, on the recommendation of the elders. The institution of the office of village chief dates from after the settling down of the Monguors under Ming rule. It was an innovation and an adaptation to a new economic and social status.

In the case of the two military ranks the tradition runs that in former times all the chiefs of villages were nobles who had been appointed as military commanders and who had jurisdiction over administrative as well as military matters. The clan institution having become during, and even before, the Mongol Empire a military institution, all subjects of the clan were enrolled in one or another military unit. No surviving tradition explains the present subordination of the military officers in the village to the village chief; but this subordination must have gone against the grain of the old Mongol military tradition—especially since the chief of the village may be a commoner, not a noble—and it may well be therefore that this subordination began under the Ming dynasty and was a mark of Chinese preference for civil authority over the Mongol tradition of military supremacy.

The institution of village elders may be regarded as a survival from the nomad past of the Monguors. Nomad clans once lived and thrived without chiefs, but never

[2] These two terms are local patois for the Chinese terms Ch'ien-chang and Pai-chang, "commander of a thousand" and "commander of a hundred," which in turn are translations of traditional Mongol terms. It should be noted that since the Monguor villages of recent times do not produce a thousand men at a time to place under a commander, we have here an illustration of the very common phenomenon of the degeneration of titles by stages which may be described as (*a*) high rank; (*b*) high-sounding rank; (*c*) humdrum rank, with no consciousness, in the minds of those who daily use the title, of its original significance. Mongol history is full of this degeneration of titles and honorifics, especially when they are borrowed Chinese terms.—O. L.

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621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[8]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [431] 622 701 At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[8] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors), or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

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LIMITS OF AUTHORITY OF THE VILLAGE OFFICIALS

•621 While the village officials are expected to deal with all possible disturbances of the peace, there are limits to their authority. The commoners, being the subjects of the T'u-ssu, who merely delegates his powers to the officials whom he appoints, have the right to appeal to him. The appeal, however, can be made only after punishment has been inflicted, in view of the fact that the commoner is also subject to the village authorities. The form of appeal to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, therefore, is not "the village authorities *intend to be* unjust to me," but "they *have been* unjust to me." The remedy, therefore, calls not merely for preventing the carrying out of a sentence wrongly imposed, but for punishing the lower authority for a mistake made and executed. This view of the working of legal machinery is not peculiarly Monguor; it is Chinese, and indeed found in many Asian societies.

The jurisdiction of the chief of the village is, therefore, limited in two directions. He is circumscribed by custom in his authority over the villagers, and subordinate to the T'u-ssu. On his triennial visit the T'u-ssu always inquires into the administration of the officials, the suits that have been brought before them, and the way in which they have dealt with them. The outlook on these matters of Monguor society as a whole seems to be rooted in the blunt fact that the commoners are descendants of subjected tribes which might have been exterminated by their conquerors, and for which the price of survival was to become the "possessions" of the victors. The ordinary commoner, with only a confused idea about the history of his condition, knows only that he is completely subject to his T'u-ssu, to be ruled according to the customs of the clan.

In most matters the interests of each village are confined to its own territory, the payment of its own taxes, the support of its own quota of soldiers, the providing of its share of the additional levies for marriages and funerals in the T'u-ssu's family, and for the investiture of the T'u-ssu. If for any reason a village feels that it has a complaint to make, it makes its petition at the yearly assembly, or at the time of the ceremony of the opening of the seal, when all the chiefs of villages are gathered around the T'u-ssu.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VILLAGES

621 312 To the extent that villages have few affairs in common, it is easy to be good neighbors. The most frequent cause of trouble between villages is dependence on the same irrigation canal, because villages using the same canal are jointly responsible for its yearly maintenance and for emergency repairs after floods.

Most village irrigation canals tap streams running from the mountains to the Hsining River or the Yellow River. The canals are divided into sections. In a typical case, the take-off section from the mountain

621 312 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 312 628 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 628 778 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 834 533 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

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[56 cont.]

*778 791 787 [Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] when the ceremony is to begin.

The soothsayer himself never takes part. He merely determines the time and names the spirit under whose supervision everything takes place.

*778 [57] Time: The time determined by the soothsayer varies in length: one, three, five, seven days, if a lama comes; otherwise only one day. The raising itself takes one forenoon at most. It is always started in the morning. -- Usually the tree is erected in conjunction with the construction of the central fort. It may also be erected, however, on any other day of the year.

The tree: The tree must always have its bark removed. Its size varies according to the proportions of the yard and the kind of wood. Fir trees are usually the longest. There are no prescriptions concerning the material and the origin of the tree. It may be cut down as desired. Also, there are no special ceremonies connected with it. There are trees up to ten meters in height, especially when it is a matter of mani-masts for the entire village or a monastery. On the average, however, they are five to six meters long (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 60.] Nowadays a complete mani-tree in the center of the yard is found only rarely. Usually an old cracked pole without a flag, to which the animals are tied, stands in the round manger. -- The mani-tree does not need to be confined to the center of the yard. One can also see mani-trees on the massive yard walls, especially where these come together at a corner. There are also communal mani-trees that are erected by an entire village, usually

[621]

[57 cont.]

*778
[621]

[Note on foreign text p. 60 cont.] on a raised terrace with a beautiful incense oven in front of it. Frequently a mani-pole with a fluttering pennant also stands in the center of the obo. The most beautiful and largest mani-trees are found in front of the entrance gates of the Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; they are up to 15 meters long and bear flags up to five or eight meters long which are printed all over with Tibetan texts. -- Mani-poles are found even among the Chinese, although rarely.

[792]

[171]

The tip (4): The tip is cut out of a wooden board as thick

4. [Foreign text p. 60.] This tip also occurs again and again on chorten, temple roofs, coffins, in symbols, etc. -- The large mani-trees mentioned above in front of the yard of the Living Buddhas, however, usually have a golden ball in place of the sun-moon tip.

[792]

as a thumb, in the shape of a sun resting on a half-moon. A small semicircle sits on the sun, and the moon has a handle with which the tip is set on the end of the pole. Everything, sun, half-moon, and handle, is cut out of one piece. This tip, however, does not sit directly on the pole, but instead is stuck through a round wooden plate-sized disk that comes to rest vertically on the end of the pole (5). The sun with its attached

5. [Foreign text p. 60.] The old man knew of no name for the round disk through which the handle of the moon sickle is stuck. He thought

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*779 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171]

1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[621]

*778 784 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled. No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

[231] [776]

*778 [792] [791] [178] The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound. The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[64 cont.]

*778 782 [178] nowadays the people are too poor. The silk threads and the long silk string are merely a substitute for them. Similarly, gold and silver are scarcely ever thrown on the obo any more.

Sometimes a string with 12 mani-flags is also drawn across the nearby pass from the obo-frame or from the mani-pole. This string is of black wool and is called "wolf string." Another string, on which 12 mani-flags are hung, is frequently run from the obo to a tree. This string is white and is called "mani-string."

782 [796] [65] The month offering: Usually the obo is venerated on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of each lunar month (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 69.] There is ~~no connection~~ between obo and month. The days mentioned here are generally preferred for offering and cult, and for this the phases of the moon are decisive.

This is done usually by the master of the family. He goes to the obo very early in the morning with a spear or several twigs and all the other necessities.

First he gives the customary incense offering before it. Then he pours a bowl of barley wine on the ground before the incense fire. He places lances and twigs with bunches of wool on the obo, hangs silk threads on the frame, and throws his votive gifts on the mound, namely, butter, tea leaves, money, silver, etc., as much as he can afford. Then he goes around the obo three times from left to right, throws 108 small white [788] stones on it, and in doing so prays the om mani padme hum and in between calls out: "I throw at the white obo." Then he makes a threefold kowtow before the incense fire and facing the obo. During the entire ceremony the conch is blown by his companions. This is not necessary, however.

The sheep sacrifice: There are no definite prescriptions concerning the time of the sheep sacrifice. There are communal [621] sacrifices, at which the entire village participates for village

[65 cont.]

782 concerns, and there are private sacrifices which the individual
[624] gives for his family.

The communal sacrifice is usually given in summer after the erection of the pole-goat for a good harvest. A private sacrifice is undertaken at any time of year according to time and circumstances, for instance, in case of an illness or before an important undertaking. Since one man alone cannot carry out everything for a sacrifice, he invites several other men to it, who help him and afterwards consume the sacrificial meat. The person who makes the offering must also pay the cost.

The sacrificial rite does not differ from that of the other
[231] sheep sacrifice. Thus, the sheep is washed, has milk poured
[791] over it, is fumigated, etc. Usually a soothsayer is present.
[252] After the sacrificial meat has been boiled, several bowls of broth are scooped out. The offering-casts are made with it in the directions indicated by the soothsayer. These are always the same. Three bowls are thrown towards the north for heaven, three bowls each to the east, south, west, and north for the countless spirits, three bowls to the left of the incense offering for the mountain-spirit in the obo, three bowls to the right of the incense offering for the earth-spirit. Then follow three more bowls on the obo, and finally three additional bowls are poured before the spirit-spear. Then follows the offering meal,
[574] at which all the meat is consumed.

Before the sheep offering the general obo-veneration is first undertaken, as at the month offering.

[792] The obo prayer: Frequently a lama or Bon priest is in-
[791] vited to pray before the obo. This may last one to seven days, depending upon the request. Here, too, either the entire
[621] village or an individual person is the petitioner. Everyone pays personally for the expenses arising from it.

The prayer service begins with an incense offering of the people. Meanwhile the lama makes a sdorma. Then the people place the following offerings before the obo: three baked loaves, 13 steamed loaves, a bowl [66] of barley wine, flowers in vases, small bowls with honey, a cup of tea, black and white sugar, a bowl of tsamba with butter-disks.

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse – obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rēdziõn: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndzigdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē dzidzigа = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē tada xoni šēñlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē tada mošguni.

The offerings: yilenē šēñlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.

To set up a tent: bekārge posguo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilga = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: kāni mori gurdā?

[526] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmudā- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: kāni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē walde-.

Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē nigē dōlā-.

Whose songs are many: kāni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē šda rēdziõñ (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzē šdodlō, mori holgani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē ayili kun, ase, mulā-sēla, nasā, guosāni furõñlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[68 cont.]

192 *778 The game is cared for by the mountain-spirit: lawdzë udaġladzān sōwa (or fsūārëġwa) = birds (or game) are ruled by the obo.

The dog of the mountain-spirit (wolf): yifulani noxuę.
The old people relate legends: ǯdogu kunsgë xuęŋge gulie-.
Whose legends are many: kāni xuę uluona?
Large and small drink barley wine: ǯge mulā dërasēŋgë udzi-.
Today is good: niudurġuo dur-sēna.
In conviviality let us sit together: suġdzieŋge sōldeya!
One does not know today what tomorrow will be: niudurē malõŋguni li mudien.
With death it is all over: fugugë bura dzia.
We come into the world for nothing: ndziġdienē (8) [see Note 8 above]) arāñ nigë huę rëdziā- (nigë xue = once).

[Pages 68-71 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[71] 5. The Chorten Chāmber*

*778 346

* See "Notes," pp. 77-79 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[621] [351] In each Tujen village and sometimes also in individual compounds there is a chorten chamber. The actual name is hundred-thousand-house. This chamber looks like a small temple without doors. In it there are several sacred urns, which are buried under 100,000 small clay cones. In this cone-mountain is stuck the column of the sky, which is covered with all kinds of blessing formulas.

[71 cont.]

346 *778 [621] [792] The chorten chamber is erected by the entire village. Everyone must give a hand. The lama comes and prays for seven days, makes a series of tormas, and manufactures the urns. On the seventh day the chorten chamber is built. Only little windows are left in it. In front of the chorten chamber the men burn incense and move in a circle around the chamber as at the obo. Through the window holes they then again throw in little chorten.

[621] [777] The chorten chamber protects the village and the family from misfortune. It represses the evil earth-influences. [Fig. 8 appears here.]

Details

[361] [791] Place: The chorten chamber is always erected outside the compound and outside the village. No attention is paid to paths. The place is more precisely designated by the soothsayer, not by the lama.

[72] Form: The groundplan of the chorten chamber is rectangular. Its size varies greatly. There are small chambers as high as a man and large ones with beautiful tile roofs and columned porticoes. There is never a door in the wall. Only at head level are square peepholes left, an ell square. There is no sun-moon disk on the roof, such as is otherwise common on temples. Usually a beautiful incense oven stands before the chamber. -- There are many kinds of chorten chambers. The one here is the most common; it is called "house-chamber," for there are also some that are not roofed (1).

[192]

1. [Foreign text pp. 77-78.] According to the informant, bẽn̂ designates the same thing as the Tibetan 'bum (in many places also pronounced bẽn̂), that is, 100,000. kã̂n is the Tibetan word for house, but it can also mean temple, for example, in the word sdienkã̂n.

[72 cont.]

346
*778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] a roof; such as dzĕw-yi and ger-kã̃ṅ. The kã̃ṅ described here is this ger-kã̃ṅ. Actually this name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kã̃ṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for bẽ̃ṅkaṅ, such as mani bẽ̃ṅkã̃ṅ, tsãla bẽ̃ṅkã̃ṅ, dšõma bẽ̃ṅkã̃ṅ, maridzẽ bẽ̃ṅkã̃ṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the bẽ̃ṅkã̃ṅ. The many rẽduombẽ̃ṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mã̃ngudzẽ, probably also belong among the bẽ̃ṅkã̃ṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific [791] day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] Persons: All the persons of the village take part in the [476] preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides [562] the work among the individual families. At the erection and the [792] consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[74 cont.]

*778

[Note on foreign text p. 78 cont.] noteworthy that at all times the orientation of the tree as it grew must be preserved. -- Nothing further was learned about the name soń-siń. The Chinese expression t'ung t'ien-chu, which is doubtless much more appropriate, is also used there for the center column in Lamaistic temples and for the center pole of the tent. In southern Kansu a large monolith bearing the same name stands somewhere in the mountains, as I was told by a missionary who was an eye-witness. This center pole plays a well-known role in the west of China, so nothing further need be said about it here.

[192]

The chorten: The chorten have the form of small clay cones and look like large eight-turreted chorten. The Chinese call them "red clay clods." Altogether there are supposed to be 100,000 little cones, but this number is not always adhered to, especially if the village is small. Three to four months beforehand, these little clay cones are poured into special wooden molds. The village elders apportion the number for each family.

[624]

The under-surfaces of the still damp little forms are tamped on Tibetan barley and incense which remain stuck to them as they dry. The average size is about the length of a finger; there are also larger ones (4). -- The finished chorten

[192]

4. [Foreign text p. 78.] With reference to the Fandse language, sasa is also pronounced dzadza (ts'a-ts'a). These clay cones not only have the shape (even if only roughly) of chorten, but they also frequently represent sacred figures which, according to the old man's

[630 cont.]

Details

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[792]

The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

[604]
[621]
[262]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

[431]
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[431]

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

[782] [465] When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
the next year.
[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The
[178] simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[292] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

3: Schröder--232 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[831]

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3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is [621] an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The [264] sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 782 787 [791] Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits concerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]
[735]

2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzën sawa bi pēṅgë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not [621] be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

[832 cont.]

241 782 [825] [621] Such families, however, must make their contribution. The main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the [202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

241 782 783 Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

241 782 787 Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 782 231 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. Normally usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

M [428] M [182] [768] [428]

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 621 183 178 The village effectively governs itself, punishing offenders, righting wrongs and maintaining peace. Great stress is placed upon faithful adherence to the old customs, and one of the important duties of the village chief is to see that they are observed. In any discussion about village affairs, the supreme argument is that of old customs. To neglect or forget the customs of the ancestors would undermine the stability and prosperity of the clan. (See Social Structure.) This conviction is M [867] dinned into the ears of the young on every possible occasion. A good test of a prospective village chief or T'u-ssu is his firm and unshakable faith in the strict observance of clan tradition.

N *563 M 621 183 179 178 During the administration of the Chinese Nationalists, the village elders had a real struggle to save their old customs and traditions. Social concepts had been undermined gradually by the enrollment of Chinese into Mongour clans, and in villages where Chinese had become elders, Chinese concepts had seeped in and were creating repercussions among the young Mongours.

e. Stealing and gambling

N *563 M [685] [673] [525] [794] Stealing is considered an unforgiveable sin, and stealing animals is the worst possible form of stealing. All thieves are punished severely; cattle thieves are shown no mercy.

Gambling is not permitted. Any offender must pay a fine, which is used for the upkeep of the temples or the expenses of the spring and autumn religious festivals.

f. Widowhood and remarriage

N *563 M 587 A widow is allowed to remarry, and to make her own decision about whether or whom to marry. If she consents to remarry, she will exchange girdles with her prospective second husband in token of her willingness. If she wishes to marry one man and is being compelled to marry another, she can notify the first of the time of her departure to the home of the second, and the desired mate may kidnap her on the way. If a widow is kidnapped against her will, however, the matter is taken to the chief and the village elders.

g. Discipline of children

N *563 M 869 Children are trained early in life. They attend the meetings at which crimes are discussed and punishment meeted out, and learn first hand that undesirable behavior brings undesirable consequences. They are never shielded from the realities and miseries of life, and as a result they are more sophisticated in their social knowledge than youngsters in other countries.

h. Etiquette

N *563 M 576 264 603 According to custom, only the oldest generation may be seated during meals. When the family is entertaining, the family head presides at the meal. His wife does not sit down unless the guests invite her to do so. During family meals, both grandparents sit on the k'ang, and the elder son may sit on the edge